## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 BIB-01 CU-04 HA-05 /092 W

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P 231718Z NOV 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2496
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0623

FROM US REPRESENTATIVE MBFR

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO MBFR

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY USCINCEUR PRIORITY

SUBJ: MBFR: SUMMARY OF INFORMAL SESSION OF NOVEMBER 22, 1977

MBFR: INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF NOVEMBER 22, 1977

- 1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE NOV 22, 1977 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE CANADIAN, FRG AND US REPS, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, POLISH REP STRULAK AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER. MILITARY ADVISORS ALSO APRTICIPATED.
- 2. THE SESSION WAS INCONCLUSIVE AS REGARDS AGREEMENT ON FURTHER EXCHANGE OF DATA. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS REPEATED AT LENGTH EARLIER EFFORTS TO BRING WESTERN REPS TO RENOUNCE THE RIGHT TO ASK FOR SECRET

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FURTHER EASTERN DATA AND PUSHED THEIR PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGE OF MANNING LEVEL INFORMATION. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF WHAT THEY SAID WAS REPETITIVE, IN MAKING THESE POINTS EASTERN REPS APPEARED TO BE GOING SOMEWHAT BEYOND EARLIER FORMULATIONS. THEY SAID THEY HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY AT THIS TIME ON THE ISSUE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER. WESTERN REPS STATED THE WESTERN POSITION REGARDING THE MODALITIES OF EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA AND REPEATED

THE WESTERN POSITION THAT WEST COULD NOT ACCEPT LIMITATIONS ON ITS RIGHT TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN FORCES DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. US REP LED OFF WITH WESTERN VIEWS ON MODALITIES OF AIR MANPOWER EXCHANGE. HE SAID THE WEST'S ASSURANCE OF READINESS TO EXCHANGE AIR MANPOWER DATA WITHIN SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER THE EXCHANGE OF GROUND MANPOWER DATA, COMBINED WITH THE WESTERN FORMULA FOR DISAGGREGATING AIR MANPOWER MADE IT FEASIBLE TO EXCHANGE AIR MANPOWER DATA ON THE BASIS SUGGESTED BY THE WEST IN THE PRESENT ROUND. THIS WAS THE LOGICAL THING FOR PARTICIPANTS TO DO. NONETHELESS, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS APPARENTLY CONSIDERED THAT FOR TECHNICAL REASONS IT MIGHT NOT BE FEASIBLE TO AGREE DURING THE PRESENT ROUND ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA FOR SUBDIVIDING AIR FORCE MANPOWER. WESTERN REPS, THEREFORE, WISHED TO ASK EASTERN REPS IF THEY HAD ANY SUGGESTIONS ON HOW ISSUE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER COULD BE RESOLVED.

4. POLISH REP SAID THE EAST SAW AT LEAST TWO OTHER ISSUES ABOVE AND BEYOND ISSUE OF MODALITIES OF EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED BEFORE MORE DATA COULD BE EXCHANGED. (COMMENT: IT APPEARED FROM SUBSEQUENT EASTERN REMARKS THAT POLISH REP HAD IN MIND THE WEST'S RESERVATION OF THE RIGHT TO ASK FURTHER QUESTIONS ON DATA AND THE WESTERN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE MANNING LEVEL DATA.)

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POLISH REP WENT ON TO REPEAT MAIN ARGUMENTS HE HAD ADVANCED IN NOVEMBER 15 SESSION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF OCTOBER 25 HAD BEEN INTENDED AS A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL FOLLOWING ON THE WEST'S JULY 15 PROPOSAL.

IT COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A TRUE COMPROMISE IF THE WEST MERELY ACCEPTED THE OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL AND THEN WENT ON TO REPEAT ITS JULY 15 PROPOSAL. IF THE WEST WANTED TO INSIST ON ITS JULY 15 PROPOSAL, THEN BOTH SIDES SHOULD STICK TO THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSALS FOR EXCHANGE OF DATA OR FIND ANOTHER BASIS OTHER THAN THE OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL. WESTERN REPS HAD STATED THAT IT WAS LIKELY THAT FURTHER DISAGGREGATION OF DATA WAS NECESSARY. THIS WAS EVIDENCE OF THE WESTERN DESIRE TO GET EVER MORE INFORMATION FROM EASTERN PARTICIPANTS ON THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF WARSAW TREATY FORCES. IT WAS EVIDENT FROM WEST'S REMARKS AND RESERVATIONS THAT, DESPITE SUPPOSED WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE EAST'S OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL, THE WEST STILL INTENDED TO PERSEVERE WITH ITS JULY 15 PROPOSAL. THE EAST'S QUESTION TO THE WEST AS TO WHETHER THE WEST WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT EASTERN PROPOSAL OF OCTOBER 25 AS A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION WAS NOT A PRECONDITION BUT AN EFFORT TO ACHEVE AGREED GROUND RULES. THE EAST SAW NO NEED FOR ANY FURTHER DISAGGREGATION BEYOND THAT

ENVISAGED IN ITS OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF OCT 25 CLEARLY DESCRIBED THE DATA TO BE EXCHANGED AND THESE DATA SHOULD BE THE SOLE OBJECT OF DISCUSSION.

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## FROM US REP MBFR

- 5. CANADIAN REP SAID THE WEST HAD ALREADY TOLD THE EAST THAT THE WEST HAD DECIDED NOT TO INSIST ON EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL OF JULY 15 SIMULTANEOUSLY TO TABLE ACROSS-THE-BOARD DATA ON ALL MAJOR WARSAW PACT FORMATIONSIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IF THE DATA EXCHANGE NOW UNDER DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE. THE WEST HAD ALSO TOLD EAST THAT THE RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO PUT QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FORCES OF THE OTHER SIDE IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOT BE LIMITED.
- 6. TARASOV PICKED UP CANADIAN REP'S REMARKS AND CLAIMED THAT THEY SHOWED THAT ALTHOUGH THE WEST MIGHT NOT INSISIT ON SIMULTANEOUS EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE EAST'S MAJOR FORMATIONS, IT MIGHT STILL PRESS THE EAST TO GIVE DATA ON MAJOR FORMATIONSIN SEQUENCE. THIS WOULD BE JUST AS BAD. WESTERN REPS POINTED OUT THAT THEY WERE NOT INSISTING ON SIMULTANEOUS ACROSS THE BOARD EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ALL MAJOR FORMATIONS, BUT AT THE SAME TIME SECRET

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THEY COULD NOT UNDERTAKE ANY BLANKET COMMITMENT NOT TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN FORCES. CEZCHOSLOVAK REP MADE ATTEMPT TO INFLATE REMARKS BY CANADIAN REP IN PREVIOUS SESSION THAT IN APPLYING AN AGREED DEFINITION FOR DETERMINING WHICH MANPOWER BELONGED TO MAJOR FORMATIONS, PARTICIPANTS MIGHT HAVE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS AS TO PRACTICAL APPLICATION. CEZCHOSLOVAK REP CLAIMED THAT THIS STATEMENT WAS CLEARLY PAVING THE WAY FOR FURTHER WESTERN QUESTIONS ON ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF EASTERN ARMED FORCES. CANADIAN AND US REPS REFUTED THIS POINT.

7. TARASOV JOINED IN CZECHOSLOVAK REP'S CLAIM THAT THE WEST WAS STILL ENGAGED IN EFFORT TO GET INFORMATION ON STRENGTHS OF ALL MAJOR EASTERN FORMATIONS. RESPONSES OF WESTERN REPS SHOWED THE WEST INTENDED TO PROCEED PERHAPS NOT SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT STEP-BY-STEP TO DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL MAJOR FORMATIONS AND THEN TO DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE FORCE STRUCTURE OF THE EAST. IF THE WEST WAS REALLY INTERESTED IN FINDING OUT THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY, IT SHOULD ACCEPT WITHOUT UNNECESSARY DELAY THE EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE MANNING LEVELS OF THE ARMED FORCES. THE MANPOWER OF THE ARMED FORCES IN VARIOUS STATES WAS DETERMINED IN PEACETIME ACCORDING TO VARIOUS MANNING LEVEL PERCENTAGES OF THEIR TABLE OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTH. EXCHANGE OF THIS INFORMATION COULD BRING MORE UNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE DISCREPANCY THAN DIVIDING FORCES BETWEEN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND OTHERS. THE EAST HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT THAT NATO COUNTRIES IN STUDYING THIS EASTERN PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE EAST'S OCT 25 PROPOSAL. WOULD AGREE TO THIS STEP ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, AS THE EAST HAD DONE WHEN IT EXPRESSED ITS READINESS TO DIVIDE MILITARY MANPOWER INTO TWO CATEGORIES. TARASOV SAID THE EAST DID NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY AT THIS TIME ON AIR FORCE DATA. FRG REP SAID EASTERN REPS COULD NOT REALISTICALLY CLAIM THAT WESTERN REPS SHOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ABSTAIN FROM ASKING OUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN FORCES IN THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE SECRET

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NEGOTIATIONS AND THE WEST WOULD NOT ENTER ON SUCH A COMMITMENT. TARASOV CLAIMED THAT RETAINING THE RIGHT TO RAISE QUESTIONS DID NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING TO EXCLUDE SOME AGREED TOPIC FROM DISCUSSION JUST AS HAD BEEN DONE IN THE CASE OF NAVAL FORCES.

8. POLISH REP COMPLAINED ABOUT A BREACH OF CONFIDENTIALITY THROUGH AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN AN AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY REPORT OF NOV 17. HE ACCUSED WEST OF BEING SOURCE. WESTERN REPS SAID AS FAR AS THEY KNEW NO WESTERN DELEGATION HAD REVEALED THIS INFORMATION. END SUMMARYRESOR

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